

REPLY
TO THE
ANSWER
OF

Lieutenant General *LUDLOW*;
Or his Answer to the Officers at
Dublin, examined:

With a concluding Word to the present Au-
thoritic in Parliament.

By *E. W.* an Actor in the late change in *Ireland*.

Tempora mutantur, sed non mutamur in illis.

LONDON,

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*A Reply to the Answer of Lieut. General
Ludlow, or his Answer to the Officers
at Dublin examined; with a concluding
Word to the present Authority in Par-
liament.*



THough, to the understanding Reader, who by comparing, knows when a Letter is answered, I need have done no more, then to have taken the same Letter (which he saith is answered) and affix't it in the end, calling it a Reply to the Answer; yet because these Worthies, to whom the Answer appeals for Justice, may with the lesse expense of time see how insufficient the Answer is, and how unjustly the subscribers of the Officers Letter, are aspersed almost in every page of the pretended Answer, by the nickname of persons that have been for a late single Persons interest, I have therefore assumed (though unwillingly) this trouble by way of Replication: and therefore,

Sir, As I am not inclined to detract from your merits, wherein they are praise-worthy, so I would have gladly seen the like ingenuity in your self, towards the Gentlemen, who rather have deserved your praise hitherto, then to have been the objects of your frownes and indignation, for what they have done.

It seems your stomach will not easily digest any that submitted to the late Government of a *single Person*, though they had no hand in setting him up; but why do you not quarrel with that Scripture, *Rom. 13. Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers, for the powers that are, are ordained of God?* Let me ask you this Question from Common-wealth principles (though I doubt not but your tart words would be silenced from that Text) Can you imagine, That if all such were excluded, your petty peevish Interest (to say no more of it) would be enough to carry on that *Good old Cause* so much pretended to? when yet you saw by experience what knocking of heads there was at your *Wallingford-House-meetings*, To which you so much frequented (though to the blot of your former service) and when advised to the contrary by your known friends, surely you that are ready to condemne the Parliament, for narrowing their interest now, do much more condemne your self, if that be your opinion.

Your great care in your answer, is, to make the world believe, That you are *the onely Person*, that hath stood unshaken (as to the Parliaments cause) in the late Protectors day; But 'tis sufficiently known to many witnesses from your own mouth, That your trouble was not, That *Oliver* had pul'd out the Parliament; But that he was seated in the chaire of State, contrary

so a former engagement, and so your expected good things, were not like to be accomplisht by him. As for the Parllament, you could have been contented then (as well as since) if they had never met more: and why then do you condemne others for the same things you are guilty of your self, namely for want of affection to this Parliament? Did not all the Armies of the three Nations, all the Fleets at Sea, all or most part of the Cities, Burrows, Towns, and Counties of this Common-wealth, yea, and all Plantations of English abroad own his Authoritie by Letters and Addresses, and were there not in all these (think you) as faithful men to the Parliament as your self?

I might here tell you that you acted sometime your self under him; for you could be contented to receive pay, as Lieutenant General, Colonel and Captain, and I believe you would have done so to the last day of his Reigne, had not Orders been given by *Fleetwood* to cross you out of the musters. Your distinction here of being the Parliaments Lieutenant General, will not serve your turne; for any sober man may see, That though you abhor'd him (as the Jews did swines flesh) yet you loved the broth of abominable things. In the front of your second page you say, The Officers and Souldiers (within your precinct) of *Duncannon*, at your coming exprest much grief and trouble for the Parliaments interruption; But truly Sir, if their after-carriage be considered, which I know you are bound to justifie, I want faich to believe that their sorrow was unfeigned.

But your Irish Harp will make no Musick, unlesse you touch upon the same string, and therefore you say
in:

in the same page, *That you sent to Ross, Waterford, and other places to presse them to declare for the Parliament, not in shew only, but in reality.* *Answ.* Truly Sir, if you might be Judge, no doubt but you would pass as severe a censure upon the persons, as you do upon the actions of those, which yet your Masters have judg'd to be real in what they have done, witness their Thanks sent them for their good service.

But the Officers, you say, in declaring for the Parliament, designed rather to take advantage against these the Parliament had prefer'd, thereby to get into their places, then out of any affection to the Parliament. *Answ.* Ill-will never speaks well, The best actions of the best of men shall never clear their integrity, if a bare jealous affirmation shall serve as a sufficient accusation. But in the mean time, Sir, those Officers so intrusted, were very faithful to their Masters; were they not? when others less-trusted (as the like was here about London) must teach them in Commission, their duty, how to obey their Masters: the best is, as often and highly as you reflect upon them in *Ireland*, by an easie and due parallel, you reflect upon those few faithful ones, that remain'd in *England* and *Scotland*.

Though the Officers fidelity may justly merit the places, yet all is submitted to the Parliaments pleasure, who in answer to the Armies humble representation, voted this as answer to one of the heads therein contained, that such whose good service should merit encouragement or reward, should accordingly have it; and though they have merited their thanks, yet whether they have deserved their places, is at their judgment.

But those in Ireland disputed your Authority, which was legally derived from the Parliament, for whom in the worst of times you have born your faithful witness. *Answ.* You are here mistaken in the dispute, which was not whether you had not an Authority, but whether by your staying amongst the Parliaments enemies, and acting as one of the new Law-makers, you had not abused that Authority to the forfeiting of it; *But the Officers you say were not Judges of that, but the Parliament.* *Answ.*

In

In case of Necessity, when there is no visible Authority, as then there was not (when they past those Votes against you) they were Judges of their own safety. And when afterwards they heard of their sitting, they appeal'd to *Cesar*, whether they desired your Return.

In the next, you tell them, *That though the Officers disputed your Authority, legally derived from the Parliament; yet they could yield obedience to Sir Hardress Waller that had no Commission.*

Answ. His being respited by the Parliament at present, did not make null his Authority, no more then the present want of their Commissions could null all the Captains and other Officers of the Army, for then they had been like sheep without Shepherds; good reason therefore they had to own him (your Substitute having defected) who was made privy to much of the Design, some weeks before it was executed, he being next in Command. *But Sir Hardress served a single persons interest whilst he might.*

Answ. He did no more, then the Generals at Sea, who all ingaged for the service of their Countrey, under the Command of a single person: who I suppose you do but equally asperse. *But Sir Hardress, with others, subscribed a Letter to the Army in England, and bid them good speed in their undertakings.*

Answ. In that Letter the Army of Scotland was equally and jointly concern'd and included, and therefore that Salute, which is rather your own fiction (then any thing in realitie) is to be equally shared between both. *But Sir Hardress cleerly espoused the Armys interest, and cast off the Parliaments, by the Letter sent to General Monk.*

Answ. The Letter mentioned was prepared by *Jones*, and brought in for Subscriptions rather by way of surprize, then debate,

bate. And though his policy did subscribe to a compliance, where his opposition would have made him obnoxious, yet the honesty of his policy did quickly appear.

Object. But that excuse may no well serve the rest of the Subscribers as Sir Hardress, and may justifie all that joyn'd with the Army; for they will all say, they did it out of Policy. *Ans.* Had they taken an opportunity in season to have oppos'd the Army, as he did, the excuse would be sufficient; but that they did not.

In the next place you say, You did not own the Army in their late precipitate undertaking, nor acted with them otherwise, then in a military capacity; but refused to joyn in their Committee of safety, or Committee for Nomination.

Ans. 'Tis true, you did not so own them (I believe) as to contrive the plot for setting up the Army as Legislators; as neither did the Army of Ireland, or the Officers, that you say were for the interest of a single person; contrive his setting up; but you could honestly submit after it was done, as they did; nay, you could joyn with them in the same work of New Government making. I wonder from hence-forth you should condemn others for that wherein you are ten times more guilty in another kind, and equally in the same kind with themselves, as before proved. But you acted with them only in a military Capacity. *Ans.* Had Cromwell or Fairfax gone to the King at Oxford; and joyned, or acted with them in a military capacity, would this have served for an excuse to the Parliament, or not rather as an aggravation to endanger their not being welcome, when they should return to sit at Westminster, as you have done?

But what you did as to Government or Reformation; was
al-

always with an intention to submit the same to this Parli-
ment's Judgement.

Ans. A sorry excuse you think is better then none.
But, 1. Who knew your Intentions? 2. Who knew
the Parliament would ever sit again? 3. You have
here coin'd an excuse (such a one as 'tis) for those that
were for a single person; for might not they say they
were for him, only with an intention to submit it to this
Parliament when they sate.

You say in Page the eighth, *The Officers design is to
make Mole-hills Mountains; to asperse and not justifie, and
therefore they quarrell with the title of Dear friend, written to
Jones.* Ans. They cite those words for this end, to let
you know what cause they had to be jealous that you, who
were a friend to their enemy, could be no good friend
to them; had such a Title been written by any member
of this house to *Inchequin* after his Revolt, it had been
enough to have made the whole house jealous, that
such a member was no good friend to them (notwith-
standing the pretence of private real friendship. But
what you did therein (you say) was prudential, he ha-
ving your sword in his hands. Ans. That is, you called
him friend till you could appear his enemy, as Sir *Har-
dresse* called General *Monk* Enemy; till he could appear
his friend. The difference lies only in this, Sir
Hardresse made halt to do the one, when you delayed to
do the other.

The next clause you say, that is aggravated against
you is, *That we seem to be necessitated to look towards the long
Parliament; it is feared, if they come in without conditions
they will be very high.*

To which, whether you have given a sufficient An-

B

swer,

swer, let the world judge; for who knew your Intentions to escape, or the way by *Miniard*, as you say in your Letter; or who can believe it, that shall consider what you say afterwards? That when *Fleetwood* heard *Dublin* had declared for the Parliament, he sent you away. The gloss by which you would evade this charge (if I should appeal to your self) is such, that you will not allow to others, *viz.* You writ to to *Jones* (out of policie) to let him see it was his prudence as well as his dutie, Not to do any thing in opposition to the Parliaments Authoritie, or to your self, who was invested therewith. *Ans.* He was like to do but little either against the Parliament, or your self, when before your going out of *London*, you heard he was imprisoned; for the mischief he had done was before, of which you had notice by several private letters. And had you went according to the invitations in those letters, you had been most affectionately received, whereas your mission from their enemy was reason to the contrarie.

The last clause in your Letter; you say, the Officers have to object against you, is this, *I hope ere this the Commissions for setting of civil Justice on the wheels, are come to your hands.* At which you wonder it should be imputed as a crime to you, by those who were free, that the Administration of civil Justice should be derived from a military hand, during the *Protectors* Reign. 'Tis therefore to be feared, you say, they rather dislike the persons then the thing it self.

Ans. The Imputation of it as a crime to you, was, because the Authority of that Sword, that pul'd out the Parliament, was thereby justified, when yet you would have the world to believe you were pleading against the Army.

Army to bring them in; and if it were alwaies your principle to oppose the sword's Authority, why was it not in this? the truth is, your words may here be justly retorted, That you dislike persons and not things; for you can make use of it as a discriminating Act against all that submitted to it in a single person; and yet you can find Arguments to plead for it, when it relates to the Army.

But you say, 'Tis the Lawyers opinion, That *whosoever is actually in power, may set the wheels of Justice going.* *Ans.* But the Army in *England* had nothing to do with *Ireland*, nor could they be in actual power, when there was a balancing power in General *Monk*, that opposed them. And if the Army in *Ireland* should have argued thus, to set their Wheels of Justice going, no doubt but you would have had better grounds for those reports you have raised, then yet you had. I wish it may be prevented by a timely consideration of their sufferings; Necessity is lawless.

But you seem much to rejoyce that you have so just a Bar to appeal unto, as that of the Parliaments, who you doubt not but will protect you against the malicious prosecution of any *Cavilerish* spirit whatsoever. *Ans.* In this you would insinuate the Subscribers to be *Cavileers*; and therefore they may equally rejoyce with you, as well for their own sakes as for yours; they have that power to appeal to now fitting, for whose restitution they have so freely adventured their All. I will not say 'tis as strange to see how you interfere in your Principles; who can now own them as a Parliament, when not long since (you told some of themselves) you did not look upon them as a Parliament; but as a Com-

pany of honest Gentlemen that met there for the good
of their Countrey, and upon that account you joyn'd
with them.

In concluding of the Paragraph page 19. you say, *If to
be faithful and constant to the Parliament, in opposition to a
single person, King-ship, &c. If to bear witness against
such as are disaffected to publick interest, or as are vicious in
their lives and conversations, &c. be high Treason, you then
confesse your self guilty.*

Ans^r. If that were all, I should say the same with
you; But stay Sir, there is somewhat else. Is it fidelity
to this Parliament, for a General of Ireland to come
from thence, and sit in the Counsels of their enemies?
would this have been judg'd so, had any Member of
the house, or General of their Army gone to sit with
the Kings Counsels, as I said before, in Oxford? Nay,
have not the house already determined it in their Sen-
tencing of Sir Henry Kane, and Major Sallaway? Is it fi-
delity to the Parliament to be engaged as one of the
chief to settle a new foundation of Government for these
Nations? Is this to bear your witness against such as are
disaffected to the Parliaments Interest? Who were ever
against the Parliament, if such be not, that shall pre-
sume to pull out their Masters, and make null their
Lawes, and yet with such you could joyn: whether
this be the substance of the Articles, or all that is to be
said, I will not determine. But certainly, if these things
are not Treason, they are highly criminal. For (to make
the best of it) can any rational man think that 'tis a suffi-
cient plea for a General of an Army, to quit his duty as a
General, to run to the enemies Counsels to incite
them to let their Masters sit again.

You sell them again in Page 11. Of your intentions to
 throw into Ireland, in order to compose the difference
 there. *Ans.* But why were not your intentions put in
 practise till within two dayes of the Parliaments sitting,
 can any man judge your intentions to be real, when your
 Actions were contrary? Had you been made a Prisoner
 for endeavouring to escape, the Army in Ireland would
 have unanimously declared for you: But it seems there
 was no such danger; for in the same pag. you say, *You had
 laboured with the Lord Fleetwood, that you might repair to
 your charge above a month or five weeks before he sent you;*
 an ill sign your intentions were real: for to use your own
 words in the same page; had that power any longer pre-
 vail'd you had staid longer with them, (I am sure nothing
 less can be imply'd;) But you say, *Fleetwood having re-
 ceived a letter from Captain Algot, that Ireland had de-
 clared for the Parliament, he then thought it necessary you should
 repair to your charge.* *Ans.* It seems you were one of
 those soldiers that was under Authority, when you were
 bid stay, you staid; and when you were bid go, you
 went. And is this to shew your fidelity to the Parli-
 ment, of which you so much boast, that you would not
 adventure some hazards to get from their enemies? Or
 who will not say, *The Army of Ireland had sufficient
 cause to conclude, That if you had been a friend to the
 Parliament you had been clapt up in London, and not sent
 away with a Mandamus by Fleetwood.*

In page 12. you say, your brother Kempsons name was
 set to the Declaration contrary to his minde, because he did not
 like the company. *Ans.* The latter I easily believe, because
 he found no whimsical persons amongst them; But I as-
 sure you the former is not true, for he ordered the

Clerk

Clerk to set his name, after some contest had been, about the words, *our Lieutenant General.*

But, you say, you looked upon it as your *datie* to hasten into Ireland, because many persons that had subscribed the Declaration were of a contrary principle thereto, and adhered to another interest, namely that of a single person. *Ans.* But suppose they had been such, are your principles so rigid and imposing (which you yet condemn in others) as you will never admit of repentance? 2. But why more hast now then good speed? had your haste been so hastic, you would have hastened over before, to have hindred that revolt that was made from the Parliament; but it seems there was no danger on that side; for if the Work were done, as you declared at *Connaway*, you did not care by what Instruments, so it might not be by a single person.

In the same page to answer the Officers, you tell them, that before you left London, you took your leave of the Speaker and left the Address of the Officers with him; which declar'd their hearty affections to this Parliament, and their resolution to stand by them, to which very few of the Subscribers hearts or hands then were. *Ans.* Not doubt your going to the Speaker at that time was your wisdom; but certainly there would have appeared more integrity had you gone sooner, or else have published the Address in Print as soon as you came to London; but when it might have done good, you could keep it in obscurity, and then discover it when before it was of no advantage; 'tis well their fidelity was better made known by their own Actions then by yours.

The Designe of the Subscribers, you say, is now laid open

open by their imprisoning many persons that did declare for the Parliament, though not with them. *Ans.* Friendship is best known in time of straits; at such a season the Army in Ireland generally shewed their fidelitie, whereas several now under restraint declar'd not till forc'd to it; and the rest had publickly defected from the very beginning; but the world may see by this, who you judge to be the Parliaments best friends.

In the next, you say, it is now out of doubt they are for the King; because the moderatest of that party have publickly declar'd for Sir George Booth's design. *Ans.* There is much fraud in a general charge; why do you not come to particulars, who they are? Indeed Sir, if it may not offend you to compare persons with persons, I must then tell you, Sir George Booth's offence will appear to deserve a favourable extenuation, *ceteris paribus*, when the crimes of the late disturbers will be found flat rebellion. *In page 23. you say, had you been upon the place of your command, as General Monk was, when the Resolution of the Army came to you, the advice of the Officers had been good; but you were in your journey towards London, when you first received the news.* *Ans.* You received the news before you landed at Cammabay in Wales, and advice was given you to returne for Ireland; which if you had done, you might have been in the same posture quickly with General Monk, had there been but the like affections; the want whereof you sufficiently discovered to Sr. Henry Ingoldsby, when you told him, That if those in power (meaning the Army) would do but as good things for the Nations; so the work was done, you cared not who were the instruments; a strange expression for

for a Parliaments General, who stands so much to vindicate his constant good affection.

The next thing you seeme to vindicate your self in, is in the election of the Officers that were to be sent to London, where you say, if they were design'd in opposition to the Parliament, it was contrary to what you intended; and General Monk Commissioners having consented; made you the more willing.

Ans. But their meeting to such an end was not contrary to your knowledge, it being the third Article; and surely you could not plead ignorance, what the Articles were, when you confesse the Commissioners before mentioned had sign'd them.

But you had the better hope of such a meeting of the General Council, because as you say, Three parts of the Army had not been engaged in that Interruption, only that part about London.

Ans. 'Tis the same thing to justify an evil act when done, as to be Actors in it; or else, why do you condemn the Officers in Ireland for owning the interest of a single person when set up, though they had no hand in the doing thereof? But 'tis easier to see how partial your judgement is, especially considering the declarations that were sent up to General Fleetwood from Lilburne, and severall others parts, to owne the Action.

You say, your Letters to Colonel Richards do sufficiently explain what you are at, by the advice you gave, to chuse such men as were fittest to the work. Ans. But how should the rest of the Officers, so what you will, know your meaning; when you never told them so whom they should apply themselves for explanation? Surely since you

you are so exact to remember the Contents of his Letter, amongst so many, you intended that should shelter you in case of a future storm.

But, *The Subscribers*, you say, *shew how ready they were to comply with the Army in England, by calling an Irish Parliament to meet on the same day.* *Ans.* Suppose the Armie in Ireland to supply their necessities, had taken an example from General Monk in Scotland, when all visible face of Authoritie was pull'd down by the Armie in England; had this been such a hainous crime? truly Sir, in condemning them for this, you do but equally charge him, whose Actions hath sufficiently appear'd honourable to the world.

You now draw on to your concluding page, and say, *Thus you hope satisfactorily you have given an answer to each particular in the Letter.* *Ans.* But how well I appeal to your Judges. The truth is, that which you call an Answer is nothing but an Evasion fill'd with bespattering termes, a thing you complain of in your Opposites; and the chief parts of your answer consists; either in condemning the Persons or actions of those the Parliament have justified, or pleading your own authoritie, which, for ought I know, you have sufficiently forfeited; Or your good intentions, which none knew but your self.

In your last page, you say, *You have made it your practice, according to your principles, to promote an English Interest in Ireland, and to give countenance to all such who fear God.* *Ans.* But is that the way to promote an English interest in Ireland, or to countenance such as fear God, and work righteousness? to set up Faction, and to lay aside Officers, saying, *O he is a Presbyterian!*

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what brave encouragement this was for any sober, honest Englishman to come over and plant in that Nation, let the world judge.

But, you say, many that now pretend to wisse well to the Parliament laid down their Commissions when they were restored, and some were laid aside by this Parliament, and others were so to be, because of their adherence to a contrary interest, and for viciousnesse of life and conversation.

Ans. The first sort are (wilfully) mistaken, for the true reason of laying down their Commissions, was because they could not run, with those sonnes of Errour, who had the onely smiles of your Authoritie: The second sort have been already vindicated, who by their actions have shewed themselves much more faithful then those, in which you so much confided: But seeing the Parliament have been mistaken in their friends once, I hope they will take heed who they trust now; And to conclude, let me here intreat our present Worthies, not to look upon their Cause to be so tottering; That they must needs go down to Egypt for help; take heed of such Oathes, that will turn out men of sobritie, and not onely make way for all the factious spirits of the Nations, to bring them in again to its support, who make no conscience of keeping them; but do engage men to fight against heaven; Let God be trusted with his own cause in his own way; without leaning upon such broken reeds. Those that are sober Christians, though of different persuasions, countenance; But this hath not been our case; pragmaticall, saucie, impudent fellows; whose tongues were set on fire of Hell, to raile against Ministrie, Learning, Tythes, or that could preach (yea, rather prate) for tolerating all heresie and

and blasphemy, these have been the chief objects of
favour, by which means you have lost five hundred
for one in the affections of the Nations, and had so
narrowed your interest, That the Parliaments cause for
many years hath run retrograde, whereas, were but the
House fill'd, a Synod call'd, and Religion settled,
with a sober toleration, The Good old Cause would
thrive in spite of Hell, without which, give me leave
to tell you, A blast from the Almighty will suddenly
come upon it and the Nations.

FINIS.
